I:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1

coffee-shop and small store keepers, and itinerant coffee vendors who are so much in evidence, while particular mention should also be made of the shark and dried fish dealers, the dealers in baskets (*vikapo*) and mats (*majamvi* and *makanda*), and those engaged in the meat trade between Zanzibar and the African mainland ports (especially Kismayu, Lamu and Dar-es-Salaam), in all of which occupations the Hadhramis have almost a monopoly. It is of interest to notice here that the meat trade was almost exclusively in the hands of the Hadhramis as long ago as 1876 (Christie). Fishing and hawking are practised by the Shihiris alone, while basket and mat making is confined to the up-country natives. Fitzgerald writing in 1898 (*Travels in B.E.A., Zanzibar and Pemba*), states that the making of mats (*makanda*), which were used for the exporting of grain, was confined to the Shihiris and the Gunias (Bajunis).

Although, formerly, the Hadhramis owned many clove and coconut plantations and much house property in the Town of Zanzibar, they now have little property of either kind. It is probable that much of it has passed into the hands of Indians.

Political and Social.

Absorbed in trade and the accumulation of money, the members of the Hadhrami community are comparatively indifferent to politics and are therefore not important factors in the political life of the Protectorate. Although hot-tempered by nature, they are as a rule law-abiding and loyal, giving little trouble to Government and seldom appearing in the Courts. During the years 1923 to 1928, however, a series of affrays occurred in most, if not all, of which the Hadhramis are known to have been the aggressors. The victims of their attacks were successively the Baluchis, the Khoja and Hindu Indians, and the Muscat and Suri Arabs. The last and most serious disturbance occurred in 1928 when fighting between the Hadhramis and the Omani Arabs continued intermittently for four days during the course of which four persons were killed and some 30 wounded. Nasir bin 'Abdulla al Kathīri,[1] the chief ringleader, and others were subsequently deported. There has been no further trouble.

In 1926 a split occurred in the community, the majority following Nasir bin 'Abdulla (Hadhrami, see above) and the minority Sa'id 'Abūd al Humeid (Shihiri). The rival factions were only prevented from coming to blows by the intervention of the Sultan.

[1] Nasir 'Abdulla is an example of a Hadhrami who emigrates to more than one of the people's favourite hunting grounds abroad. After he and his deported companions had appealed, with the support of His Highness the Qu'aiti Sultan, but unsuccessfully, against their removal from Zanzibar he migrated to Java, whither emigrating Kathiris mostly direct their steps, and returned to Mukalla in December, 1934. He has now gone back to his tribe.

The affairs of the community are managed by two associations— Z
that of the Hadhramis (Junia' al Hadhramia) and that of the 162
Shihiris (Juania' Ahl as Sahil)—which also endeavour, as far as 579
possible, to compose differences between individuals. The leading 563
personalities in the associations at present are Muhsin bin Ghalib H
al Yafa' of the Hadhramis and Muhammad Sa'id 'Abūd al Humeid 167
of the Shihiris. Both are semi-officially recognised by Govern- 579
ment as the heads of their community.

The clannish feeling of the Hadhrami prevents him, in Zanzibar H
as in other countries, from mixing with the members of the other 167
communities any more than is necessary for the purpose of his 186
trade or calling. He keeps much to himself and, as a rule, takes Z
little part in local life, political, sporting or social. Even his 563
intercourse with his cousin from Oman is restricted. The language difficulty is no doubt partly responsible in the case of those who are not permanently settled in the Protectorate, but even those who have made Zanzibar their home appear to learn the local language less readily than other foreign elements of the population, and they exhibit the same disinclination for social intercourse with their neighbours. Hardworking and thrifty, unlike their cousins from Omān, and absorbed in their own occupations, they appear to have few forms of entertainment even amongst themselves, dancing and sitting in coffee-shops being almost the sole manner in which they seek relaxation, at any rate in public.

In Zanzibar there is an increasing tendency, especially amongst H
the younger Arabs and Africans, to adopt European clothing. The 186
Hadhramis, however, are little affected by the prevailing fashion, Z
and it is rare to see one of the community attired in anything 563
but his own national dress. As in the case of clothes, so in his manner of living; the Hadhrami, preferring his own customs. does not easily adopt the manners and ways of those around him.

The women of the Hadhramaut have always felt a striking H
aversion to emigrate and, as has already been noticed, it is but 167
rarely that the Hadhrami will bring his wife or female relations Z
to Zanzibar. Even girls who are born in Zanzibar and are taken 563
back to their homes in Arabia seldom return to the Protectorate 582
after attaining puberty. Few of the children born locally, therefore, are of pure stock. As a rule, marriages are not contracted in Zanzibar by those who are not settled on the islands, although liaisons of a temporary kind are frequently entered into, particularly with African women. Those who are more or less permanently settled normally marry members of their own community, but they occasionally seek brides from amongst the Muscat Arabs, the Comorians and sometimes even the Africans.

The diet of the Zanzibar Hadhramis naturally consists, as far as Z
possible, of those articles of food to which they are accustomed in 563
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2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

the general control of the State Secretary, an Omani Arab borrowed from the Tanganyika Government. Apart from him there were eighteen other non-Hadhrami Arabs and Indians in the administration, mostly doctors, technicians and military officers.

In 1934 on the best figures available the revenue was about Rs. 630,000. For 1944-5 it was estimated at just under Rs. 15,000,000. In 1934 the amount spent on Government services was about 3,010,000 of which 2,025,000 went to Yafa'i Irregulars and slaves. In 1944-5 the expenditure was estimated at just under Rs. 16,000,000. In 1934 the then Sultan put about half the revenue in his pocket and, just before he left for India for the last time before he died, he emptied the till and left the treasurer to borrow from the merchants, so when the first check of Government cash was made on April 1, 1939, there was still a deficit of about Rs. 40,000. On April 1, 1944, there was a credit of over Rs. 14,000,000.

Up to the end of 1936 insecurity was rife all over the country. No one could travel safely without an escort from the tribe through whose territory he moved. In the settled areas many villages were at war with neighbouring villages. In some cases there were elaborate trench systems both for defence and for communication with the fields. It was estimated that the sudden death-rate in the principal part of the Wadi Hadhramaut alone was ten a month. Even the unarmed classes were not infrequently murdered. The worst area was Kathiri Territory, but there were others almost as bad in areas under Qu'aiti influence. The Qu'aiti security forces were really only effective for keeping the bedouins out of the main Qu'aiti towns. They would not have been really effective there if it had not been for humiliating agreements which the Sultan had made with the bedouins that they would not raid within short distances of the towns marked with white boundary posts. The regular forces had been reduced to ceremonial duties only: the power of the State depended on Irregular mercenaries and slaves, and the Sultan was generally at their mercy, his authority depending on being able to play the one off against the other.[1] Early in 1937 a general peace treaty was arranged for three years between all the tribes and tribal sections. To this there were nearly 1,400 signatories which in itself gives an idea of the divided state of the country. In the same year we began the reorganization of the regular forces. In 1940 the truce ran out: an extension for ten years was proclaimed and for the most part loyally adhered to, but a good deal of tribal trouble recurred and the local forces were not yet sufficient in numbers or skill to keep order everywhere. Trouble gradually lessened and in 1944 the Qu'aiti State was paying over four lakhs of rupees for armed and police forces which on the whole kept order and peace very well. Incidents during 1944 were very few.

The bedouin today has a real confidence in the Qu'aiti Government.

[1] About the last official trace of slavery disappeared in 1944 when the State slaves were freed. Many of them were enlisted in a new African Company and the old ones were pensioned off.

Y: Starke-Rasmussen T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Some miles out of Aden a sultan recently killed two of his cousins because of some rivalry between them, and not more than fifteen years ago there were cases of open piracy at Balhaf. Such incidents will illustrate that it is not easy country to travel through or to subjugate, isolated as it is behind roadless mountains and plateaux. There are some 500 miles of this barren, rough country, where the people are fiercely independent and distrustful of outsiders. It was long impossible to travel right across it, and it has been done by only very few people, chiefly by the Dutch explorer Van der Meulen, who has crossed it three times.

Considering the geography it is not surprising that modern civilization, and particularly European civilization, has never penetrated the interior of this peninsula. In such outcrops of continents as this all civilization seems to come and go very slowly, and so does life itself. The Indo-European civilization, which started in the Fertile Crescent before the time of Ur of the Chaldeans, has only very slowly percolated down to this outcrop of Asia, as it did in the peninsulas of India and Malaya; once there, it remained static and almost intact for 4,000 years. When one goes to Hadhramaut now one can almost imagine living in the time of Abraham of Ur and the Chaldeans.

The Hadhramis themselves trace back their ancestry and history to Noah, from whom they descend through Sem and his grandson Ad, who is their legendary father of the giant race, and from whom in turn descends *Hathermaveth*, whose name means "Death is Present" and became "Hadhramaut." This shows that in those far-off days the Arabs of Southern Arabia were hardly less bellicose than they were until the British came to Hadhramaut in 1934, when Mr. Ingrams started negotiating cessation of wars and blood feuds.

Hadhramaut, we know then, lies 400 miles from Aden eastwards along a roadless coast, across merciless basalt mountains, quicksand, dunes and deserted beaches—400 miles of sand and rock and ragged cliffs, with only five unknown bedouin fishing hamlets en route. Going along this coast—be it by plane, dhow or, at last, since 1951 by pioneer desert trucks—one can hardly believe that any form of life is possible inside or behind these torrid treeless wastes. For behind these coastal ranges, to the north, we know it is the great desert that covers all Southern Arabia, the Empty Quarter, which has but four or five oases along the 600- or 700-mile camel route that crosses it. Neither from north nor south is there seemingly any life vein, nor from east nor west. Yet it is here that we shall find the valley of Hadhramaut.

Like the hidden valley of Petra, Hadhramaut has remained secluded throughout the centuries, but with this difference: the valley of Hadhramaut is not dead.

When one has braved the 400 miles of desolation eastward from Aden, one suddenly comes upon a great scintillating white harbour; a crescent moon wedged between an azure bay and blistering pink rocks. This is Mukalla, the beautiful white-and-blue port, the cup of its harbour filled with many little native craft and sailing dhows. Behind the town there seems nothing but endless waste tableland with one or two poor bedouin hamlets—the Jol, rising to 6,000 feet and stretching 150 miles inland. But

THE HADHRAMI BEDOUIN LEGION

By A. M. CLARK HUTCHISON

DURING the past year the Jordan Arab Legion has been much in the news. Its activities in Iraq and Syria in the world war, its picturesqueness, and the fact that of all the Arab forces operating in Palestine the Legion was the only one to gain successes, have all helped to focus attention on it. Not so many people, however, have heard of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion, a small local security force in the eastern part of the Aden Protectorate. This force, no more than a miniature army, is modelled on the Arab Legion.

Ten years ago in that area of the Aden Protectorate known as the Hadhramaut conditions were far from peaceful. Although the two leading rulers in the country, the Sultan of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan in Seiyun, exercised certain control and powers over their lands, nevertheless there existed in adjacent regions and frequently within their own boundaries much raiding, looting, and inter-tribal quarrelling. Trade was at a standstill. Camel convoys were attacked, such roads as existed were often cut, and personal risk to a traveller was serious. All hopes of progress or agricultural development were reduced to nothing.

Britain was already in protectorate treaty relationship with the Sultans, but no political work had been undertaken in the area which was far from Aden. Air communications improved the outlook, and in the winter of 1936-37, as a result of careful planning and much detailed political work on the spot, the tribes great and small agreed to make peace and adjustments, required by all, were made concerning property, blood money, and other rights.*

At this point His Majesty's Government, on the advice of its representatives in the area, decided that a policy of assisted development was desirable, and adviser treaties were welcomed by the Sultans.

From this time on the civil administration was to gain in power and respect. The police and local military formations already in existence were inadequate for use in areas nominally under close state control. Their reorganization was undertaken with Indian N.C.O.s, and for use in the Bedouin areas Mr. W. H. Ingrams proposed the raising of a new force. After studying the organization of the Transjordan Arab Legion, and with the co-operation of Glubb Pasha, who arranged the loan of N.C.O.s, he raised the new force on January 1, 1940, and named it the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion. With the exception of the period from June, 1940, to March, 1942, he remained in control of the force and its development until June, 1944, when it had forts in the more important Bedouin areas and an educational system which included boarding-schools for Bedouin boys and girls.

* Cf. Harold Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles* (London, John Murray, 1942), pp. 243 ff.